THE METHODS OF INTERROGATION AND INDOCTRINATION USED BY THE COMMUNIST STATE POLICE*

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State Police was stimulated by the experiences of United Nations prisoners of war during the Korean campaign. Since then a considerable body of information has been assembled through the efforts of many investigators. Our own knowledge of these methods was obtained during an investigation carried out from 1954 to 1956 with the collaboration of the United States Department of Defense. An extensive report of the results of this investigation has been published elsewhere.

In the course of this study, information was obtained from a number of sources. Details of the Communist arrest and interrogation systems, and a great deal of information about the purposes, attitudes, and training of those who administer them were obtained from experts in the area, who for security reasons must remain anonymous. Knowledge of the prisoners' reactions to their experiences was obtained by the direct observation of persons recently released from Communist prisons. Some of these observations continued for weeks, and were supplemented by follow-up observations over periods of months. They included complete physical, neurological and psychiatric examinations, and often psychological testing as well. They were supplemented by information supplied by families, friends, and former associates. Among those studied intensively were military and civilian prisoners of diverse ranks and backgrounds, women as well as men, defectors and resisters, persons "brain washed" and "not brain washed," some who admittedly cooperated with their captors, and some who said they did not.

In supplement to this, pertinent information from investigations carried out by the U. S. Army and the U. S. Air Force, and from the

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Table L-BACKGROUND OF COMMUNIST METHODS

15th Century Byzantine Heritage	 Unrestricted Autocracy Internal Intrigue & Espionage 			
16th Century	1. Permanent Body of Private Retainers Responsible only to Czar			
	2. Central Control of all Aspects of the State			
	3. Purges			
17th-18th Century	Central Directorate with Mission to Guard the Internal Security of the State			
19th Century	Most Highly Organized, Effective and Powerful Secret Police of any European State			
	1. Sudden Arrest			
	2. Dossier			
	3. Repetitive Interrogation			
	4. Isolation Technique Developed			
20th Century	1. Highly Organized and Refined Methods			
Cheka	2. Communist Ideology and Logic			
	3. Abandonment of Direct Brutality			
	4. Development of Persuasion Techniques; Exploitation of Intimate Interrogator-Prisoner Relationship			
OGPU-NKVD-MVD	1. Purges			
(KGB)	2. Public Trials			
	3. POW Indoctrination (Exposure to Nothing but Communist Interpretation of History and Current Events)			
Chinese	1. Group Pressures			
System	2. Self & Group Criticism (Applied to Non-Party Personnel & to Prisoners)			
	3. Prisoner Indoctrination Rote Learning Autobiography and Diary Writing			

material assembled for the Defense Advisory Committee on Prisoners of War, was utilized. The very large public literature on the subjects was reviewed also, and was drawn upon when it was helpful. Finally, various laboratory and clinical investigations were carried out in order to throw light upon the psychological and physiological processes involved in some of the interrogation and indoctrination procedures.

The information from all of these sources is voluminous, and is best presented in outlined form.

The Russian State Police are the model for the Eastern European police systems. The development of the Russian police system is deeply embedded in the cultural heritage of Russia, and its operation can only be understood in the light of the social attitudes and political institutions which Dr. Berle has described. Organizations similar to a state police have existed in Russia since the 16th century, and a formally organized police system has been in operation there for over a century and a half (Table I). The Communists abolished this organization only briefly, and soon revived it as the Cheka. They have reorganized and reformed it from time to time, as their Czarist predecessors did before them; but it has nevertheless continued to operate in essentially the same manner up to the present day, usually as a part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but more recently as an autonomous organization, under the "Committee for State Security" or "KGB".

The distinctly Communist contributions to the methods used by the Russian State Police were the organization and refinement of police procedures, the abandonment of official sanction for the use of direct brutality, and the development of persuasion techniques which exploit the intimate interrogator-prisoner relationship and make use of the peculiar definitions and tortuous logic associated with Communist ideology in order to produce a "deposition" or "confession" by the prisoner.

The formal indoctrination of prisoners of war on a mass basis was developed by the NKVD for use against German prisoners in the latter stages of World War II. Similar methods were used against the Japanese who fell into Russian hands in 1945, and knowledge of them was later transmitted to the Chinese Communists. The Chinese, however, had previously developed methods of their own for dealing with prisoners of war, and their present procedures are based in part upon their own experience, and in part on that of the Russians.

A state police system had existed in China under the Nationalist government, and one was established in those areas controlled by the Communists long before they came into power in 1949. Sometimes the methods used by the Chinese State Police copy very closely those which they learned from the Russians, but in general they exhibit refinements which are distinctly Chinese. The most important of these is the use of group pressures, generated among prisoners who are confined to-

TABLE II.—IMPORTANT COMMUNIST ATTITUDES

- 1. Anyone who is a Threat to Party or State is a Criminal
- 2. Potential "Criminals" may Fall into Broad Categories:
 - a. Dissident Members of the Communist Party
 - b. Ethnic Groups Suspected of Nationalist Aspirations
 - c. Social Groups "Inimical to the State"
 - d. Bureaucratic Groups "Out of Favor"
 - e. Members of Reactionary Classes
 - f. Foreign Nationals
 - g. People who have had Contact with Foreign Nationals
- 3. "KGB" Decides who Threatens Party or State
- 4. "Crimes" may be "Objective": Committed Accidentally or with Innocent Motives OR —

"Consequential": Potential Consequences of Acts or Attitudes

- 5. "Evidence" of Criminality Includes
 - a. Membership in a "Suspect Group"
 - b. Minor Infractions
 - c. Suspicious Acts
 - d. Unverified Reports of Informers
- 6. "KGB" does not Arrest a Man without Evidence of Criminality
- 7. Therefore:

Anyone arrested by "KGB" is a Criminal

gether in cells, each of whom is required to demonstrate his own reform by tearing down the statements and deriding the past behavior of his fellow prisoners. The routine of "self-criticism", self-abasement, punishment, recantation, and ultimate rehabilitation, which was developed by the pre-war Russian Bolshevik Party as a means of insuring discipline among party members, has been extended to the civilian and prison populations by the Chinese, who use these procedures very effectively within cell groups to produce pressure on individual prisoners. In addition, the Chinese have introduced into the prison system pedagogical methods based upon rote learning, recitation, and the repetition of long, hand-written, essay-like "confessions", as a means of indoctrinating the prisoner with Communist concepts of economics, politics and current events. These teaching methods have been drawn directly from those which had been in use in China for many centuries.

The State Police system in Soviet Russia and the Eastern European

TABLE III.—CRUCIAL FEATURE OF LEGAL OPERATION

If a Man is Arrested his Case Cannot be Settled until a Protocol ("Confession") has been Prepared. This Protocol Must be Signed by Both Prisoner and Interrogating Officer.

satellites operates against those who are defined as political criminals. It is not concerned with petty, or personal criminality, such as thievery or murder. Such crimes are handled by the militia and the regular system of courts, and need not concern us here. The State Police direct their activities against those who are considered to be a threat to the party or the state. These operations can be understood only in the light of the attitudes outlined in Table II, which are implicit in a modern Communist society. Perhaps the most important consequence of these concepts is that the guilt or innocence of one who is arrested is not at issue. The fact that a man is seized automatically places him in the category of political criminals, and the only matters to be determined thereafter are the extent and the nature of his criminality. It is a deeply ingrained administrative principle of the Soviet state that this criminality can be formally established only by means of a "protocol" or "deposition" signed by the prisoner and the investigating officer, and setting forth the nature and extent of the crimes along with the motives behind them. In the absence of such a protocol, no case can be settled (Table III). The operations of the interrogating officers, therefore, are designed with an eye to obtaining a proper deposition as expeditiously as possible without using direct brutality upon the prisoner.

The attitudes described in Table II are known to the general population as well as to the police. The prisoner is under no illusion as to his legal rights at the time that he is seized, and has no anticipation that he will be released without signing a protocol, even though he may have every hope that the crime specified in the protocol can be as mild as possible. His seizure is usually preceded by a period of surveillance, during the course of which he generally becomes aware of the fact that the police have an interest in him, and is able to anticipate the fate that is in store for him (Table IV). The psychological

TABLE IV.—A TYPICAL TIME TABLE—					
EASTERN	EUROPEAN	SECRET	POLICE ST	YSTEMS	(COMMUNIST)

Weeks	Steps		Reaction of Prisoner
0	1. Suspicion		
1	2. Accumulation of Evidence	P	Anxiety
2	Surveillance	R	Suspense
3	Reports of Informers	0	Awareness of Being Avoided
4	Seizure of Associates	G	Feelings of Unfocused Guilt
5	3. Seizure	R	Fear and Uncertainty
	4. Detention	\mathbf{E}	Bewilderment
6		\mathbf{s}	Hyperactivity
	I Rigid Regimen	\mathbf{S}	Diminishing Activity
7	5. S	I	Increasing Depression
	O Increasing Pressure	V	Fatigue (Pain)
	L	\mathbf{E}	Humiliation, Loss of Self Esteen
	A I		Filth, Mental Dulling
	T N		Despair
8	1 T		Frustration Tolerance
	O E		Greatly Reduced
	N R	D	Great Need to Talk
	R	I	Utter Dependence on Anyone
9	0	\mathbf{s}	who "Befriends"
	6. G	Ö	Much More Pliable
	Ā	R	Great Need for Approval
	T	G	of Interrogator
10	Ī	A	Repeatedly Frustrated
-0	Ô	N	by Interrogator's Refusal to
	Ň	I	Accept Statements, and
	**	z	by Interrogator's Alternating
		A	"Help" and Withdrawal of
		Т	Approval
		I	• •
	" Deposition	0	Increased Suggestibility Confabulation
	7. Deposition		
11		N	Rationalization
11	0 70 ''		Profound Relief
••	8. Respite		
12	9. Trial "Confession"		
	10. Punishment		

effect of this is not necessarily planned by the police, but it is important in setting the stage for the reaction of the prisoner to his experiences during imprisonment. This usually begins with a dramatic seizure, often at night, which is classically followed by a period in complete isolation in a detention prison.

TABLE V.—THE DETENTION REGIMEN

- 1. Total Isolation: No Communication of any Sort with any Person
- 2. Cell: 6 x 10—Barren—No View Outside—Light in Ceiling Burns Constantly
- 3. Rigid Regimen-Strict Time Table. For Example:
 - a. Early Rising
 - b. Short Time for Washing
 - c. Eat-(No Utensils)
 - d. Sit-(Fixed Position)
 - e. Exercise—(Walk Alone)
 - f. Sit-(Fixed Position)
 - g. Eat—(No Utensils)
 - h. Sit—(Fixed Position)
 - i. Sleep-On Back, Hands Out, Face to Light
- 4. Immediate Punishment for Infractions
- 5. Food: Plain, Distasteful—Just Sufficient to Sustain Nutrition—Sometimes Excessively Salty
- Elimination: Slop Jar in Cell—Removed for Infractions—Thereafter, Taken to Latrine only at Pleasure of the Guard
- 7. Temperature: May be Hot, or Cold and Damp
- 8. Pain May Result from Fixed Positions During Sleep and When Awake

The details of this isolation regimen are outlined in Table V, and its effect upon the prisoner, which is sometimes remarkably predictable, is described in Table VI. The essential features of it are uncertainty, anxiety, complete isolation from the social environment, and an overwhelming awareness of the control exercised by the jailers. This, added to the physiological effects of lack of sleep, alterations in diet, the temperature in the cell, and the pain and circulatory disturbances produced by unusual postures long maintained, leads to a steady disorganization of the prisoner which, in the case of new prisoners unfamiliar with the routine, is usually well advanced within three to six weeks. The characteristics of this disorganization are mental dulling, loss of ability to make discriminations, feelings of helplessness, depression and despair, associated with inactivity, filth, self-soiling, and an active fantasy life of a fearful nature. The reaction may go on to frank delirium. The lack of discriminatory capacity makes it difficult for the prisoner to differentiate what actually has happened from what might have happened, or to understand the fine distinctions contained in the legal

TABLE VI.—EFFECTS OF DETENTION REGIMEN ON PRISONER

Initially	Fear, Uncertainty
1 to 3 Days	Bewilderment and Discouragement Followed by Overalertness, Expectancy, Demanding. Rejects Food—Complains—Attempts Fraternization (Rejected or Punished).
3 to 10 Days	Anxiety, Hyperactivity, Sleeplessness, Nightmares, Compliance, Steadily Increasing Loneliness, Boredom, Fatigue, Hunger, Pain, Weight Loss, Gradual Compliance.
10 Days to 3 Weeks	Decreasing Activity, Increasing Dejection, Automatic Behavior, Repetitive Acts. Intense Fatigue, Drowsiness, Pain; Weight Loss, Constipation, Edema; Craving for Companionship; Humiliation, Loss of Self-Esteem.
3 to 6 Weeks	Despair, Utter Dependence, Inactivity, Filth, Soiling, Mental Dulling, Loss of Discrimination, Muttering, Weeping, Praying, Delusions, Hallucinations (Delirium), "Confabulation", Need for Companionship, Great Need to Talk, Frustration Tolerance Greatly Reduced, Suggestible, Eagerly Grasps at any Help. Pliable.

documents which he may be called upon to sign. Sometimes prisoners actually confabulate. Accompanying all of this is an intense need for companionship and an intense desire to talk to someone, which is utilized effectively by the interrogator.

In the typical case, the interrogation will begin when the interrogator feels that the prisoner is ready to talk, but before he has become completely disorganized (Table VII). Skillful interrogators utilize the prisoner's need to talk and craving for human association by discussing with him apparently innocent details from his past life. This cements a bond of companionship between the two that can be one of the most effective tools of the interrogator. By maintaining his pressures upon the prisoner, and by carrying out the interrogation at night and at great length, the interrogator keeps the prisoner in a dependent, uncomfortable, and befuddled state, which he can easily manipulate by rejecting his statements and increasing the pressures on the one hand, or by praising and approving his performance and decreasing the pressures on the other. The prisoner, undergoing an ordeal which is profoundly unpleasant and apparently endless, is highly motivated to seek some end to his misery. He usually will not confess to bald statements which he recognizes as obviously untrue, but he is vulnerable

Table VII.—INTERROGATION PROCEDURES AND PRISONER REACTIONS

Begin:	When Interrogator Decides Prisoner is Ready to Talk—Usually when he has Become Dejected and Dependent.
Carried Out:	According to Plan—Usually at Night.
Lasts:	Until Deposition is Signed.
Stage I:	Review of Life History in Great Detail, Repetitively. Interrogator: Formal. Allows Prisoner to Talk. Cements Relationship by Long and Intimate Inquiry into Prisoner's Life. Persuades Prisoner his Aim is to Help and Befriend. Attitude: "We Know Everything Already". Never Satisfied with Information. Discrepancies Mean Lies. Prisoner: Anxious to Talk and Explain. Much More Pliable.
Stage II:	Interrogator Uses Episode from Life History as Evidence of Crime. Disapproves of Prisoner's Denials. Punishes Him. Prisoner Frustrated. (If made to Stand Many Hours May Develop Circulatory Collapse and Uremia.) Hurt by Rejection. Strives to Please Interrogator. Increasingly Suggestible.
Stage III:	Interrogator Rewards and Approves of the Prisoner's Cooperation. Persuades Him, Suggests Half Truths, and Helps Him to Rationalize as Only Way Out.
Stage IV:	Repetition of Stages II and III Several Times, if Necessary. Prisoner Repeatedly and Increasingly Frustrated by Interrogator's Refusal to Accept Statements and by his Alternating "Help" and Withdrawal of Approval—Becomes More and More Suggestible, Readily Confabulates, Rationalizes Half Truths.
Stage V:	Successful Rationalization. Satisfactory Protocol. "Gentleman's Agreement". Prisoner Feels Great Relief, May Have Gratitude and Admiration for Interrogator.

to rationalizations and contrived definitions that allow him to make an ostensible confession, while retaining a shred of a belief that he has not really compromised himself beyond the facts of the case. His fatigue and lack of discriminatory powers may prevent him from seeing that he has actually confessed to all that the police require. Even though he may know that his confession carries with it an automatic sentence of death, he may prefer this to a continuation of his present hopeless state of misery. Thus, the primary work on the interrogator is that of convincing the prisoner that what he did was a "crime", as defined by the Communist state, and as interpreted by the State Police.

There has been a good deal of bewilderment at the fact that confessions so obtained are not usually repudiated in open court. However, only an extremely small minority of prisoners ever appear before an open court of any sort, and those who do are well aware of the fact

that a repudiation of their confession will only lead to a repetition of their torture, while at the same time they have some hope that by playing their roles properly some lenience may be shown to them. A vast majority of state police prisoners in the past have not been tried by the regular courts, but by so-called "military tribunals", which operate in camera within the detention prisons, before which there is no defense, and from which there is no appeal. So far as the prisoner is concerned, appearance before such a "court" is merely another step in the police routine, and the futility of recantation is apparent. In spite of this, there are many recorded instances of prisoners who have repudiated their confessions, not once, but several times, and there are said to have been some who have never signed a protocol at all. However, refusal to sign a protocol (or "confession", as Western prisoners usually call it) is very rare, because it is practically impossible to be released from a Communist detention prison unless a proper protocol has been prepared and signed.

The period of detention and investigation usually lasts not more than several months in Eastern Europe and Russia. The police do not regard this as a period of imprisonment or punishment. "Punishment" begins only after the trial and sentencing. If the punishment is not capital, it is usually carried out in a labor camp in some distant place.

The Eastern European police practices which we have described are somewhat idealized. They vary from place to place, and from time to time. The official sanctions against direct brutality are not always observed, especially when the police are under some pressure to settle a case rapidly. Isolation may not be so prolonged as this, or used with such deliberate finesse. Not uncommonly prisoners newly seized are immediately subjected to prolonged and uninterrupted interrogation, which may go on for days until they collapse or sign the necessary deposition. Sometimes prisoners are placed in cells with other prisoners who are informers. Some are merely bribed, threatened, or otherwise handled by the police officers upon the basis of their horseback estimate of the type of man that they are dealing with. But in no case is there reliable evidence that neurologists, psychiatrists, psychologists or other scientifically trained personnel have designed or participated in these police procedures. There is no evidence that drugs, hypnosis or other devices play any significant role in them. The effects produced are understandable in terms of the methods used. There is no reason to dignify

Table VIII.—COMPARISON OF METHODS OF CHINESE WITH METHODS OF KGB

- KGB Goal is to Produce a Satisfactory Protocol in Preparation for Trial.
 Additional Chinese Goal is to Produce Long Lasting Changes in the Basic
 Attitudes and Behavior of the Prisoner.
- 2. Prolonged Isolation not used Routinely.
- 3. Intensive Use of Group Interaction—Greater Dependence on Disorganizing Effect of Group Rejection and Hostility. Complete Lack of Privacy.
 - a. To Obtain Information.
 - b. To Apply Pressure-To Persuade.
 - c. To Indoctrinate.
- 4. Use of Public Self-Criticism and Group Criticism for Indoctrination of Non-Party Persons.
- 5. Use of Diary Writing, Repeatedly Rewritten and Rejected Autobiography, and Rote Learning as Means of Interrogation and Indoctrination.
- 6. Detention Greatly Prolonged After Initial Interrogation—Indoctrination May Continue Years Before Trial, with Exposure to Nothing but Communist Interpretation of History and Current Events.

these methods by surrounding them with an aura of scientific mystery, or to denote them by terms such as "menticide" or "brain washing" which imply that they are scientifically organized techniques of predictable effectiveness.

The Chinese methods of handling political prisoners during the past five or six years have been somewhat less formalized than those of the Eastern European Communists, partly because the Chinese are in the midst of a social revolution, and partly because of the size of the nation and the variations in available prison facilities. The essential differences between the Chinese procedures and those of the KGB are outlined in Table VIII. An outline of the methods themselves is in Table IX.

Suspicion and surveillance act upon a Chinese suspect much as they do upon a European. Chinese arrests, however, are often carried out in the daytime, and under dramatic circumstances. Upon his seizure, the prisoner is often taken before several police officers, who act as "judges" and carry out the initial interrogation. Most of those Western prisoners who have been held in China have undergone some period of isolation, which may have been long, but was not necessarily as

TABLE IX.—A TYPICAL TIME TABLE CHINESE COMMUNIST SECRET POLICE SYSTEM

Weeks		Steps	Reaction of Prisoner
0	1.	Suspicion	Anxiety and Suspense
1	$^{2}.$	Preparation for Arrest:	Awareness of Being
2		Denunciation by Neighbors and Asso-	Avoided
3		ciates Covertly and at Local Group	
4		Criticism Sessions Restrictions and Annoyance by Police.	Feelings of Unfocused Guilt
5		Seizure under Dramatic Circumstances. Initial Interrogation by 3 "Judges" House Arrest	Fear, Complete Uncertainty as to Fate
		Tiouse Titlest	Reaction like that of
± 17	5.	Prison. Isolation Resembling KGB Procedure	KGB Prisoner, Leaving Subject Feeling Defeat- ed, Humiliated, Men-
То		E E	tally Dull, Pliable and with Great Need for Talk and Approval
±20		Transfer to Group Cell Total Absence of Privacy Rejected Reviled Humiliated Brutalized Public Self- and Group Criticism Diary and Autobiography Writing Constant Reading, Discussion and Repetition of Communist Material, with Total Absence of Other Information Intermittent Sessions with One or More Interrogators Preparation of "Confession"	Emotional Nakedness Unfocused Feelings of Guilt and Unworthiness Helpless, Degraded Increasing Dejection, Fatigue, Sleep Loss, Pain, Hunger, Weight Loss, Mental Dulling, Confusion (Occasional Delerium) Increasing Difficulty in Discriminating Between this Material and that from Earlier Memory Attempts at Self Justification
24	7.	Preparation of "Confession" (Some Fellow Prisoners Sincerely helpful) Some Respite from Pressures	Hopeful, Rationalizes, Thankful for Kindness and Help and May Acknowledge Apparent Dedication and Ideal- ism of his "Teachers"
To	8.	Rejection of "Confession" by Interrogator	Hopes Dashed
	9.	Resumption of Pressures in Group Cell	Alternating Hopefulness, Frustration and Deg- radation
İ	10.	Preparation of New "Confession"	
₩	11.	Rejection of New "Confession"	
100		(9, 10, and 11 May be Repeated as Many as 3 to 6 Times Over as Many as 4 years. Usual Duration, 6 Months to 2 years.)	
	12.	Final Achievement of "Proper" Atti- tude and Acceptable "Confession"	By Rationalization, and Tentative Partial Be- lief is Able to Conform and Obtain Group Ac- ceptance and Approval
To	13.	Group Acceptance and Approval Continued Study and Discussion of	Profound Relief
\downarrow	14.	Communist Materials "Trial" and "Confession"	
25 0		Release, or Punishment	Gradual Readjustment of Attitudes and Behavior to the New Reality Situation

well organized as that of the KGB. Some were detained for a time under "house arrest" in their own homes, in rooms fitted up as prisons, and guarded by police.

It is not uncommon that several "depositions" or "confessions" are obtained from a prisoner of the Chinese, and usually one of these is obtained from him early in his imprisonment. The most important point at which the Chinese prison routine differs from that of the Russians lies in the fact that the preparation of a proper deposition is not necessarily the prelude to a "trial" and punishment. The prisoner, even if he has already "confessed", usually finds himself transferred to a group cell with about eight other prisoners, where he undergoes a prolonged process of indoctrination, which may last for as many as five years. The atmosphere within such a group cell, and the interaction of the prisoners with each other and with the various interrogators, has been ably described by Dr. Lifton.² Disorganization and demoralization of the prisoners in these cells are produced by the pressures of fellow prisoners, and by their rejection, humiliation, and even outright torture of each other, in an atmosphere in which they feel totally without privacy, while at the same time utterly alone. Sooner or later most prisoners under such pressure develop reaction patterns similar to those which occur in KGB prisoners, accompanied by a depressive and fearful mood. Sometimes they attempt suicide.

The same sort of rationalization is offered to the Chinese prisoner as a way out of an impossible situation. This rationalization is implicit in the behavior and statements of the other prisoners, who make it clear that only by proper cooperation with the interrogators, by the preparation of a proper confession, by the exhibition of suitable remorse about his past behavior, and by the enthusiastic acceptance of the "new way of life" offered to him, will the new prisoner ever escape the intolerable pressures of the situation. When a prisoner achieves the necessary rationalization, when the pressures upon him are lifted, and when he is finally accepted by the group, he usually has an exhilarating sense of relief that may have the characteristics of a religious conversion. But this is not necessarily the end of his imprisonment. He may recant some portion of his confession at a later date and may have to go through the whole procedure again several times before he is finally released.

All of this is carried out in an atmosphere in which the prisoner group is totally isolated from contact with the outside world. They are

presented only with the Communist interpretation of current news, and are forced to study and discuss Marxist topics for many hours each day, and every day. Nor are the effects of the physical features of the environment to be neglected. Diet may be inadequate or unpalatable, the cell unheated, and arrangements for elimination absent or so restricted as to cause acute discomfort. Direct physical brutality in the form of manacles, leg chains, beatings and prolonged standing or sitting in uncomfortable positions, are a part of the punishment which is meted out to Chinese prisoners, even though the guards themselves may refrain from such practices, which here, as in Russia, are not "officially" condoned.

Prisoners who have been released after long periods in Chinese Communist prisons seem cowed and docile. They may talk a great deal, but they typically avoid criticism of the Chinese Communist, and they may refrain from describing the details of their unpleasant prison experiences. They may use some Communist or Chinese terms, and they may seem to subscribe to the Communist interpretation of some recent events. They are not entirely free of the fear of retaliation, or yet aware of all of the realities of the outside world. Usually after several months of reality testing and readjustment to their new environment, they exhibit attitudes and behavior patterns that are essentially the same as those which they showed prior to their imprisonment. This is true even of the people who are said to have been "most thoroughly brain washed". It must be remembered that among the group of Americans who remained in China after the general evacuation in 1949 there were some who had lived most of their lives in China, who spoke Chinese fluently, who had few ties to the United States, and had a high degree of interest in the social changes being carried out by the Communist regime. A number of these people were intellectually sympathetic to the Chinese Communists even before their imprisonment. It was among this group that those who are said to have been "the most thoroughly brain washed" were found. Even among these people it was hard to tell if their views after imprisonment differed materially from those that they had held prior to their seizure. Under the pressure of five years of persuasion some of them did commit themselves temporarily to actively supporting a cause for which they had previously expressed only intellectual sympathy. But even this seems to have been transient. There is, in short, no evidence that the Chinese Communists have developed any new, predictable, or unusually effective methods of changing human behavior to add to those already known.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Our general conclusions based upon review of the evidence available to us are these:

- The interrogation methods used by the state police in Communist countries are elaborations and refinements of police practices, many of which were known and used before the Russian Communist Revolution.
- 2. The principles and practices used by the Communist state police in the development of suspects, the accumulation of evidence, and the carrying out of arrest, detention, interrogation, trial, and punishment are known. The effects of these upon prisoners are known also.
- 3. The "confessions" obtained by Communist state police are readily understandable as results of the methods used.
- 4. Communist methods of indoctrinating prisoners of war were developed by the Russians and subsequently refined by the Chinese. These methods and their effects are known, also.
- 5. Chinese methods of dealing with political prisoners and "enemies of the state" were adapted from those of the Russians.
- 6. Intensive indoctrination of political prisoners is a practice primarily used by the Chinese Communists. The methods used in this indoctrination are known, and their effects are understandable.

The report from which these conclusions were taken was prepared in January 1956. In the year since that time new events have occurred in Hungary and Poland, accompanied by the release of many former political prisoners. The Soviet Union is said to have withdrawn from the state police the right of summary execution, and recently it has announced that state police cases will be tried in the regular courts rather than in "military tribunals". However, all of the evidence which we have received is in support of the conclusions stated above, and we have received none which would lead us to alter them. The present curbs upon the State Police in Russia and the restriction of their activities will very probably be temporary, like the many other transient

reforms of this system that have taken place in the past. From a clinical point of view they can be looked upon as a remission of a chronic disease that is almost certain to be followed by a serious exacerbation in the future.

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